Some of the effects of this change can be seen in the growing wealth of cantineros, observable in changes in house construction, and a shift to the raising of small livestock (always an alternative strategy) by women who must support themselves. With regard to drinking performances, the effect of the change in retailers seems to have been an increase in the number of drinking performances--especially for boys and young men, whose limited ceremonial responsibilities have made them relatively infrequent drinkers in the past. In turn, the increase in the number of drinking situations has required slight modification in the timing of the drinking--men seem to drink for shorter periods of time. Thus, for example, drinking on Sunday is becoming more common, but the continuation of drinking on a second day (Monday) has decreased. These matters will be spelled out in more detail in later sections.

Age-sex distribution of drinking

Aguardiente is bought by men who have control of money, and it is drunk almost exclusively by them. Women drink rarely, and it is considered inappropriate for them to do so. Children do not drink at all; boys begin to drink on festive occasions at fifteen or sixteen, and it is probably relevant that by this time they are old enough to work for wages and usually have some money of their own. Old men often give up drinking except when, as of-

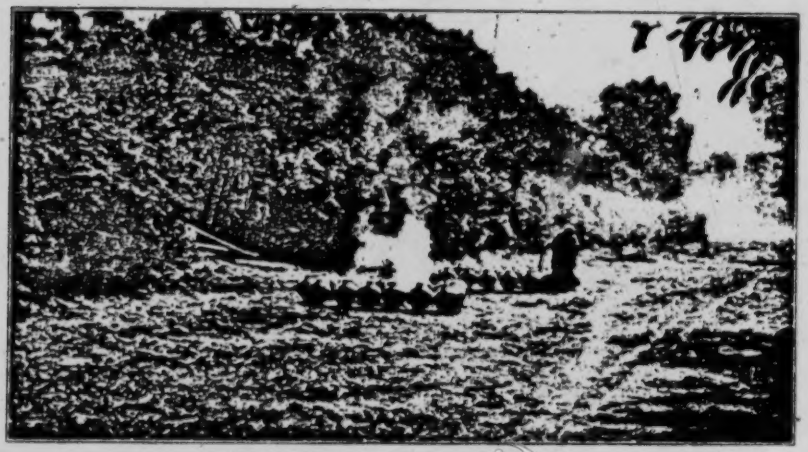
5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Tzotzil NV11

Tze 142 291

The men are tallish and the majority of them have sparse, black beards. They wear plain, white cotton tunics and short trousers, sashes, and hats of the sombrero type. The women wear the usual short, blue skirts. Their blouses are cut with a square neck, around which are embroidered three bands, each about two centimeters wide, of red, yellow and red. At the corners, little imitation tassels are embroidered in the same colours.

Tze 621 623 Tze [115]

We were told, by an unreliable informant, that this village was remarkable for its independence. Its officials are chosen by the natives alone, and run through a regularly prescribed *cursus honorum* from secretary up to president, and then on to the council of elders. Government laws and orders sent to the village are debated by this council and are not published unless approved by them.



Tze 323

FIG. 333—Amatenango, Chis. Pottery baking.

Tze 584 323 606

We were also told that in case of marriage each party works for his or her prospective in-laws, and that the girl at that time learns pottery making, taking over the mother-in-law's specialty.

Tze 648 434 171

While there was no way of checking up on this information, it is true that there is no Maestro at Amatenango, and that the Indians seem to be an unusually self-respecting and self-reliant lot. Of all the Tzeltal people observed, they were the only ones who seemed to compare with the Zotzil-speaking Chamulas in energy and prosperity.

Tzo 114 137

Returning to ourselves and our trip. We left Tenejapa on the following morning by a winding, broad road climbing to a pass in

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

base, so the farmers prefer to plant the better, quicker-growing corn seed in a mixed sand and loam soil.

The final evaluation of land is based on results at harvest. The range of variation is large: from 48 liters of yield per liter of seed to 80 litters of yield per liter of seed. Township officials say that the average harvest is five *fanegas* (1 fanega equals 12 liters) or 60 liters per liter of seed. Market prices are of less importance in deciding what crops will be planted than are considerations of what the soil "wants" and what labor is involved. Corn is grown on all kinds of land, whereas beans and special crops such as cabbages can be grown only on the more fertile soil. Wheat can be grown only where there is irrigation. One farmer raised cabbage in cooperation with a Ladino and earned 1,000 pesos, four times the amount he earned with his wheat crop the previous year. Despite the greater return for cabbage, the farmer did not plant it the next year when the Ladino, who had supported the first venture, withdrew his support. The reason he gave for this was the fact that there was more work involved and he could not accomplish it alone: first the crop had to be planted, then transplanted, then irrigated every three days in the early growing period, and cultivated two or three times; every eight days he had to get rid of worms. He estimated that growing cabbage involved well over four times the amount of work necessary for growing corn.

Labor. Most agricultural work is performed by members of households with exchange or hired labor. There is no specialization of labor when the work force includes two or more men since the men cooperate in doing each task. Communal labor is restricted to the maintenance of the main irrigation ditches. Each year the ditches are dug out where the sides have eroded and cleaned of brush and leaves. The president and judges unite to decide on a time for this work and announce it on a loudspeaker of one of the cantinas. This usually occurs around the twenty-fifth of December. Formerly, all the men of the community helped in this work whether or not they owned irrigated fields. In 1958 those who did not own such land "got smart" and refused to work.

In 1962 the civil officials decided that a cement canal should be installed near the source of the spring. They tried to finance it with contributions

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

there is no other woman in the house. (c) Number of men in the family. If there are productively employed men, women of the household tend to make less pottery, since they are busy cooking and washing and have their basic subsistence needs supplied. Pottery is then produced to supply cash for fiestas only. Widows make a great deal of pottery since they must either hire men to work in the milpa or buy corn.

2. Wealth of the family: Relatively wealthy families make almost no pottery. In other cases, the scheduling of production is related to consumption needs. Figure 2 charts the pottery production by type of item produced for a family which included two unmarried women, their mother, father, and grandmother. The peaks in production occur just before the major fiestas when the family wants additional money to buy meat, fruits, and clothing. Although this family produced more pottery than the majority of households because of the presence of four women, its production typifies the high periods of activity relating to the fiestas. Production is also related to the seasonal changes: during the rainy season (from June to October) many households curtail production, except to earn money for the fiesta of Santiago (July 25), because of the difficulty of firing without closed kilns.

Variation in production means that an overall estimate of income from pottery cannot be made. It ranges from none to nearly 90 percent of family income in the case of widows without land or male helpers. I would guess that an average family might earn 200 pesos a year, about 10 to 15 percent of the money value of crops. One family of two widows and five children who work constantly throughout the year averages an income of about 600 pesos, or about one-half what an agriculturist can make on one-half hectare of land.

The Motivation to Produce

The motivation to work is tied directly to consumption needs of the household. Failure to meet expenditures with income from agriculture and pottery is met by men hiring out as agricultural workers or as laborers in the sawmill. This alternative is chosen over that of increasing the size

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

of the farm by renting additional land, as European peasants typically did,[5] since there is very little land available for rent and the returns are not immediate. Farmers will try to avoid this by acquiring land grants to increase subsistence agriculture.

Expenditures and earnings were studied in six families over varying periods of time from ten days to one year. The data are summarized below.

Family No. 1, consisting of a husband, his wife, and their married daughter separated from her husband and child, is able to meet all of their need for corn and brown sugar and most of their need for beans by the crops they raise on one-half hectare of ejido land in hot country, one-half hectare of ejido land in the township, and three-quarters hectare of privately owned, irrigated land in the township. On their irrigated land, they grow one-half hectare of wheat and one-quarter hectare of corn. In hot country they grow corn, beans, and sugar cane on the margins of the field. The cane is ground in a cooperatively owned mill, and their crop in 1965 produced 144 *tapas*, or measures of one kilogram worth 5 pesos. In addition to 200 pesos earned for the wheat crop, 100 pesos for the bean crop, 298 pesos for corn, this farmer earned 808 pesos for outside work. His high wage income is due to his working for an American at twice the usual daily pay. The farmer buys coffee by the twenty-five-pound bag costing 62 pesos in hot country, a saving of about one-half the retail price of coffee in the town, where it is sold at 5 or 7 pesos at pound. In twelve months of recorded expenditures, the family spent 609.50 pesos or 83 percent of their budget on food, 40 pesos or 5 percent of their budget on clothing and 82 pesos or 11 percent of their budget on medicine.

The high expenditures in the case of family No. 2, consisting of a man, his wife, and two mature sons, was due to the fact that one of the boys was carrying on a betrothal suit. The bride-price had been fixed at 500 pesos, toward which the family was contributing whatever excess of income over expenditures it had. The son who was seeking a wife worked fifty-six days in the sawmill at a wage of 15 pesos per day during the six-month period recorded, earning 255 pesos. In addition, he and his brother earned 160 pesos for agricultural work for other families in the village.

5. Chayanov (1966:7) demonstrated that Russian peasant families expanded the size of their farms when the subjective needs of the family increased, not as a response to market prices for crops or rents.

71 Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

pesos for agricultural work for other families in the village. The expenditures of this family on meat, brown sugar, and liquor were required for the house celebrations carried out almost every Sunday. Like family No. 1 they spent 83 percent of their budget on food, a total of 714.80 pesos, and a larger percentage on clothing, 138 pesos. They sold their surplus corn for 292 pesos and their beans for 247 pesos. These crops were produced on one hectare of privately owned, irrigated land, one hectare of privately owned, non-irrigated land and one hectare of ejido land.

Family No. 3 consists of a widow and her widowed daughter-in-law who had five children. The oldest son, aged sixteen, worked their one-half hectare of ejido land and one-half hectare of irrigated land with some hired help during harvest. During the three weeks recorded, there were no returns from their crops, which include wheat and corn, and the family relied entirely on returns from pottery. This household produces more pottery than any of the others recorded, earning 61 pesos in the three weeks, because there are no adult male producers. They spent 63 percent of their budget on food, a total of 42 pesos, and 34 percent or 23 pesos on clothing.

Family No. 4 consists of a married couple with three children seven years of age and under. The husband works occasionally in the sawmill, but since he drinks a great deal, he does not contribute much of his 70-peso weekly wage to the family. He grows wheat on one-half hectare of irrigated land and corn on one-half hectare of ejido land. In the ten days recorded, no money was gained on harvest, but the woman earned 19 pesos from pottery. The family spent 77 percent, or 17.20 pesos of their budget on food and another 22 percent, or 5 pesos such as soap, kerosene, etc.

Family No. 5 consists of a married couple, their married son and daughter-in-law, and three grandchildren. They own one and one-half hectare of irrigated land, on which they grow wheat and corn, and one-half hectare of ejido land. The husband and his son supplement their earning from farming by distilling liquor, earning 108 pesos in the ten days recorded. In addition, the women of the household earned 54 pesos from pottery they made. They spent 143 pesos, or 97 percent of their budget on food and 3 pesos, or 2 percent of their budget, on clothing.

Family No. 6 consists of a young couple with two children. The husband owns one-half hectare of irrigated land, and one-half hectare of non-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

434 592 [241] [423] [464] irrigated land in addition to their one-half hectare of ejido land. He supplements his income with work in the sawmill for some periods of the year, at a wage of 90 pesos a week, making a total of 165 pesos in the ten days recorded. The family spent 81 percent or 36 pesos of the budget on food, 13 percent or 6 pesos on clothing 2.3 percent or 1 peso on household supplies, and 3 percent or 1.20 pesos on medicines.

434 592 241 262 These family budgets show that most of the corn and beans can be supplied by subsistence agriculture. Garden crops of chile, chayote (a green vegetable which produces a fruit and an edible root), and fruit trees, including lime and anone, are raised in the house yard. Tomatoes, fruit, and cabbages are bought in neighboring market towns.

434 592 171 In comparison with household consumption expenditures in the United States and other foreign countries, these budgets show a much higher proportion of cash income spent on food. The percentages of food expenditures range from 63.2 to 97.0 in the families studied, whereas in the United States the average percentage is only 26.3, in Argentina 59.2, and in Zambia 66.5 (Conference Board Economic Almanac 1967). This reflects the fact that the people of Tzo'ontahal have no expenses for house rental, that wood for fuel and light is available in communally owned forests, and that most of the household utensils such as jars, jugs, and bowls, are locally produced. However, failure to report items must also be noted—no [125] one reported purchasing matches although everyone uses them, and only half of the families reported use of soap, although this is universally purchased.

433 241 A gross estimate of the land necessary to fulfill consumption needs of corn for a family of two adults and four children would be approximately one and a half to two hectares. The yearly average consumption of corn for such a family is about 2,000 kilograms. One hectare produces from 1,200 to 2,000 kilograms in addition to 80 kilograms of beans. Of the 299 families whose land ownership is given in Table 5, 142 have only one hectare of ejido land and 85 more have only one-half additional hectare of privately owned land. This means that 227 households, or 61 percent do not 423 433 have enough land to meet their subsistence needs. 160 household heads

?: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

have recently sought additional lands in the ejido of Brindis to meet these minimal requirements. This preference for expanding subsistence agriculture to hiring out as laborers is the best index to the persistence of traditional economic pursuits.

Farmers who do not have a cash crop in wheat may be forced to sell corn even when there is no surplus. Because they usually need the cash as soon as they harvest their crop, they must sell when the prices are low. Thus their consumption needs exacerbate the disadvantage they face in the market.

Clothing, whether traditional or modern in style, requires cash outlays. Women have kept the traditional costume while men are modifying their clothing. Even when they go to hot country, older women wear the heavy cotton skirt bound with a thick sash and topped by an embroidered blouse; some younger women have adopted the long cotton dirndl skirt and peasant blouse. A white cotton shawl is added for ceremonial events or for warmth in the evening. All of their clothing is either bought or made of materials woven on looms in Comitán or San Bartolomé. The navy blue skirt, which they say is black, and the red and yellow sash are sold for 40 to 50 pesos by Ladina vendors who come to town. The blouse is made from two meters of heavy white cotton sold in the local stores or in Teopisca and San Cristóbal. Most prefer the more expensive cotton woven on bed looms in San Bartolomé, but it is not always available. They embroider the wide bands of yellow and red around the neckline with embroidery floss sold in the local store. The fringed shawl from Comitán is also sold locally, but is often purchased during the annual fiestas in the town. These items are replaced every two or three years, depending on the wealth of the family. The newer clothing is worn on ceremonial occasions, and the older clothing is worn every day. Women wear sandals and hats for protection only when they are firing pottery. For jewelry they wear bead necklaces, sometimes with crosses attached. Their hair is braided with ribbons for fiestas, or simply left hanging when they work.

Men buy a woolen jacket called *kotonču*, which is brought illegally from the Department of Huehuetenango, Guatemala, where it is made,

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

and sold in Comitán. It is the same as the costume worn by the Indians of that area. A similar garment is made in Comitán but is considered inferior to the contraband product. Shirts and wrapped trousers made of coarse cotton are stitched and sold in Teopisca. The trousers are bound with a red woven sash. These items make up the modified costume worn by most of the boys and men. Men over sixty wear a long, coarsely woven shirt with a slashed neck made in San Bartolomé. This is caught at the waist with a woven band and worn over short trousers. In the evening or during ceremonies the kotonču is always worn. The older men wear high-backed sandals attached to rubber-tire soles with thongs, while younger men wear the *huarache* of crossed leather bands secured to a rubber-tire sole found in many parts of Mexico. Increasingly men are taking on the western clothing worn by Ladinos—the belted cotton trousers, shirt, and underclothing sold in the local store and in the neighboring towns. In 1957, only a half-dozen men, all of them former students in the boarding school established in Cárdenas' term of office, wore this dress, but today over twenty middle-aged men and dozens of youths in their teens wear it. Those who wear modern clothing have substituted a zippered "air-force" jacket for the kotonču. All men wear factory-made straw hats, under which, on ceremonial occasions, they wear a red bandanna bound over the forehead and tied at the nape of the neck. A high-crowned palm hat with black designs, ordered by the alfereces when they enter office, used to be woven by a few specialists; now only one man can make them.

The changing styles in men's clothing reflect three stages of acculturation. The older style worn by elders is said to be the costume worn by the ancestors who live in the cave. Since all of the items are and have for some time been purchased from outside the town, the changing pattern of consumption—the change from modified peasant to ladino-style clothing—has not affected local production.

Girl's wear a machine-embroidered peasant blouse and a mid-calf gathered skirt made of cotton or rayon and purchased in the neighboring towns. They change to the woman's costume when they reach their teens. Boys wear the same clothing as their fathers, except for the old costume. Table 12 shows the cost for these items.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

ered to be dirty since the pigs and dogs cannot scavenge the feces. Mothers train their children to have bowel movements in the evening when darkness offers them privacy in the houseyard.

Changes in house types in the seven-year period from my first census in 1958 to the second in 1964 are tabulated in Table 14. There has been a general improvement in the standards: tile roofs have increased from 1 to 20.1 percent. The increase has been at the expense of both wood shingle (declined 8.3 percent) and of thatch and palm leaf (declined 9.8 percent).

TABLE 14. Types of House Construction

	1958*		1964†	
	Number of houses	*Percent of all houses*	*Number of houses*	*Percent of all houses*
Roofs				
Tile	1	1	58	20
Shingle	27	23	41	14
Thatch or palm	87	76	190	66
Walls				
Board plank	17	15	66	23
Wattle and daub	98	85	223	77
Sweatbath				
Have	60	52	120	42
Have not	54	47	169	58
Unknown	1	1		

* Based on sample of 115 houses.
† Based on total survey of houses in center with 22 unspecified.

The numbers of houses with wood plank walls has increased from 14.8 percent to 22.8 percent. This is a temporary arrangement, and the planks are usually replaced with wattle and daub, so the increase may simply reflect new construction. The percentage of houses having sweatbaths has declined from 52.1 to 41.5. No new sweatbaths have been made for the last ten years or so, and many of those recorded are not in use.

The changes in housing type reflect the greater prosperity of the town as well as the increasing receptivity to outside influence. The increase in tile roofs means a greater dependency on external markets. Ten years before the final census, a man who put on a tile roof feared the consequences of witchcraft.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

342
177
178
434
[335]

of witchcraft. Today probably 95 percent of the new roofs are made of tile. Often the old roofs cannot be replaced with tile because the rafters were not built to support them. One result of the change has been the dependence on a carpenter to construct the gables, since they have to be lined up more accurately than they do with thatch or palm roofs.

361
351
434
[554]

House lots in the town center are preferred to those on the margins. As residents of house sites on the ejido lands at the margins of the town acquire wealth, one of the first things they try to do is acquire a house closer to the plaza. These lots are smaller, averaging about 500 square meters, while those farther out average 900 square meters. In a sample measurement of 100 house lots, the size ranged from 180 to 1,440 square meters, and the average size was 77 square meters. Considering the advantages of a large lot in growing chile fruits and corn, the preference for smaller central lots reveals the strong prestige factor influencing choice.

352
435
[513]
[708]
[322]
415
435
439
[412]
435
415
177

House furnishings include both purchased and homemade items. Sleeping accommodations consist of wooden bedboards, either nailed on a frame or simply laid on blocks and covered with a straw mat. Woolen blankets from Comitán are sold locally at a price of 24 pesos or for 20 pesos in San Cristóbal and 18 pesos in Comitán. Most households own two or three wooden benches which line the walls of the porch and are made locally. Small chairs are purchased from Chamula carpenters at a cost of 2 to 4 pesos, as well as a small table costing about 4. A higher table is provided for the saints' pictures and candle holders, incense burner, and flower vases or tin cans. Hooks are fashioned from the crotch of trees and suspended on the house posts. Wooden boxes are bought from Ladino carpenters in San Cristóbal at a cost of 10 to 20 pesos depending on size and workmanship and are used to store clothing. In addition to the homemade water holders, water carriers, comales, strainers, and bowls, handmade glazed ware from San Cristóbal, factory-made porcelain dishes, metal cooking pots, knives, and spoons are purchased. Gourds provide serving ware for ceremonial occasions. Stone grinding platforms and rollers are purchased in San Cristóbal for about 10 pesos. Two new items have become increasingly popular in the past five years: a metal grinding machine for corn, hand operated and costing from 40 to 60 pesos depending on the size and quality, and a hinged press for tortillas, costing 15 pesos if made

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

of metal and 10 pesos if made of wood. These are lined with waxed paper which the local storekeeper cuts from cracker-box wrappers and sells for 5 cents each.

Electricity, first used in the cooperative store and later in the liquor shops, is now being installed in houses. 83 families had electricity installed in their homes by 1967. Street lights have been in operation since 1966, although the first attempt to install them was blocked by residents on the streets to be lighted who did not want to pay the tax of 1 peso per month per household to meet the cost to the community of 75 pesos a month. Most people have a flashlight, and lighting in the house is provided by pitch pine or by small kerosene lamps. Candles are used only in ceremonies.

The inventory of items sold in the cooperative store in town includes the most frequently purchased items of consumption. Hardward includes buckets, hoes, kerosene lamps, batteries, Gillette blades, shotgun bullets, canned goods such as sardines, chiles, and powdered milk. Packaged foods include rice, sugar, salt, oatmeal, cornstarch, flour, coffee, biscuits, cookies, gum, and candy. Beer is sold along with soft drinks and cigarettes. Household supplies include candles, soap, D.D.T. powder, thread, matches, and kerosene. Medicines dispensed most frequently include sulphur pills, aralin, Desenfriol, Alka-Seltzer, and Sonrisal. Yard goods for shawls, children's wraps, and men's clothing are sold along with manufactured shirts, blouses for girls, and rubber capes. Eggs as well as money are taken in payment and then sold. Except for one can of Chocomilk, which sat on the shelves for a year, all of the items are in constant demand, and provide an index to the level of living and dependency on external markets.

The preferences in changing consumption are limited by communal standards of what is appropriate. I once asked a man who was acquiring more than the usual income by brokerage activities what he would buy with more money. He replied, "I would get more land and cattle." I interrupted to ask what he would do to improve his standard of living. "I wouldn't get better clothing—what would I need that for? I would get a house built with good materials like this [the government-built clinic] with a cement floor. But I couldn't get it now because of envy. When my children grow up, they [the neighbors] will see them working and maybe

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

434
178
177
[953] I can get one then. Last year I bought a transistor radio for nine hundred and ninety pesos. My wife said she would leave me if I got it because all the children would get sick. But I got it anyway and no one was sick. I am stronger than my enemies."

Innovation on the consumption level is adding a stimulus to innovation in economic activities. The successful innovator must invent a rationale for his improved standards of living and then prove that he can survive the possible evil consequences of envy. The process of adoption is one of a shift in the incidence of choices made in the direction of improving levels of living. The new is often incorporated with the old rather than replacing it. For example, after the rough preparation has been done with the mill, [252] grinding stones are used for the final grinding of corn to get the dough [415] into the preferred consistency for making tortillas. Tin plates are used along with crockery and gourds. Some items are linked in change: for ex- [291] ample, tailored pants are worn only with buttoned shirts and belts and [096] with zippered jackets. The old forms are continued in a ceremonial con- [415] text: kotonču is preferred when a man undertakes an official role, and gourds are preferred to any other container for ceremonial foods. The technology of production lags behind the changes in consumption that have increased the need for greater income—agricultural tools have not been modified since the colonial period when the wooden plow, metal hoe, machete, and plow used with draft animals were added. Changes in consumption needs rather than in productive technology are expanding the economic horizons of the Indians.

Choices and Strategies in Agricultural Production

241 In agricultural and pottery production, decision-making concerning the use of land and labor resources is controlled not only by a traditional technology but more importantly by a given state of cognitive orientations that determines, in Goodenough's words (1966:54), "what states of affairs they have learned to discern, what they believe to be the relations between them, and what they understand to be the processes by which one state can be transformed into another." Agriculturalists have a fine perception

71 Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

mother's house, find a wife for a grown son, or find an unattached female relative to live with him.

Traditional agricultural and pottery production contained within household units has limited specialization and the formation of classes. Whatever exceeded consumption needs was absorbed in a ceremonial fund that served to maintain existing standards. The aim of production was to maintain a given level of "poverty and suffering" as they said in prayers of thanksgiving. These old standards are no longer adequate. Family budgets reflect a range of alternatives requiring an increasing amount of cash expenditure on goods made outside of the community. Because of land limitations, these new preferences are met by wage labor rather than increases in the size of the farm. The new enterprises discussed in the following chapter provide the income streams which are disrupting the present distribution of wealth and the social system based on it.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

465 working long hours. Thus they receive 12 pesos for about one and a half times as many hours as is worked locally for the prevailing wage of 6 pesos (ten hours in comparison with the usual day's work of six to seven hours in the town). For this reason they maximize the effort expended in
[476] getting to fields outside of their own township. The lower payment in town entails an obligation on the owner's part to reciprocate the labor, but the payment relieves him of an immediate demand on his time. Exchange
476 labor without payment requires reciprocity within the same activity schedule: thus if a man assists someone else during harvesting, he expects that person to assist him during the same harvest period. If, however, he will
[465] be unable to reciprocate immediately, the payment of 6 pesos terminates an immediate obligation, but he will be expected to respond when he can if other requests should be made by this same farmer. Exchange labor without payment is contracted between relatives, compadres, and neighbors, using the network of established social ties to reinforce the obligation to reciprocate.

464 Agricultural work in the fincas in hot country is undertaken only when
[434] there is extreme need for supplementary income, or when a man is escap-
[754] ing the threat of being killed as a witch. In the 1920s, when the Indians had limited land resources and prevailing wages were low, some were forced to go to the fincas of the Argentino and Aregovia near Tapachula.
[626] Despite the economic necessity for their undertaking this work, the social pressure was so strong against it that they would leave early in the morning to avoid being jeered as they passed in the street. The women rarely
[462] accompanied them because they could produce pottery at home and sup-
[465] plement earnings. The prevailing rate now is 15 to 18 pesos per tarea, a half-day's work, but Indians work in the finca only when urgently pressed.

Nonagricultural labor in the sawmills is a source of employment for twenty-two Indians of the town. Lumber companies operating in the forested areas of Montebello Lake have employed Indians of the town for
[465] the past year. The wage offered, from 15 to 18 pesos a day, exceeds the 12-peso wage paid to agricultural laborers in the immediate area, but corresponds to that paid in hot country. The men must live at the sawmill, and supplies of tortillas made by their families are brought in on Wednesdays

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

by the company truck to replenish supplies they bring with them. Most of the workers are young men in their twenties and thirties. They return Saturday evening in a truck supplied by the company and go back to work on Monday morning. Weekly wage payments have upset the usual controls over budget management. Money earned from crops is handled by women. The sawmill workers have resisted passing over their paychecks to theis wives or mothers, and several court cases have been precipitated as a result (Appendix 2b).

All of the work in which men are engaged outside of the community is voluntarily undertaken for cash compensation. Formerly, forced labor of two kinds was frequently demanded of the Indians: communal labor in the neighboring ladino town when Tzo?ontahal was an *agente municipal* of that town, and work in neighboring fincas for wages of 50 cents a day. Forced communal work came to an end when the town became an independent municipio in 1931, and the labor roundups at substandard wages were ended when Indians became conscious of their rights guaranteed in the *Ley Federal del Trabajo* in the late 30s. Copies of the *Colección Juridica Ley Federal del Trabajo* are sold in the departmental marketplace along with the *Codigo Agraria*. Awareness of their rights as workers is concomitant with increasing entry into wage labor employment outside of the local community. As yet, Indians do not have any organized labor interest groups to champion their rights. The Commissioner of Indian affairs in the departmental capital is an intermediary in individual cases that arise. But wage levels and conditions of work are set in a free market in which the Indian's only control is to refuse to work.

The few special occupations in the town, such as butchering, caponizing, weaving bags, carpentry, and midwifery, have never developed into full-time professions.[2] The failure of the development of specialization is related to the tradition of ritual offerings of gifts of liquor and consumables and to the lack of a marketplace in the town.

Most of the livestock raised in the town is sold to butchers of the neighboring town because of lack of storage or of market facilities for the meat. Pigs and bulls are slaughtered in town only on the occasion of a celebra-

2. Curing is treated in a separate chapter since it is an exceptional case of specialization related to social control.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

231 cattle was seized by bandits or soldiers. It is "new" only in the size of the
233 holdings, which have expanded from ownership of one or two head per household, primarily useful as draft animals, to a herd as large as two hundred head belonging to the wealthiest man in town. Cattle rearing is now a capital investment for resale as well as for draft animals in plow agriculture.

233 The increasing herds have stimulated competition for community re-
311 sources. The control of communal grazing and waterhole rights is exer-
312 cised through the traditional dual division of the town, with rights to pas-
621 ture allocated on the basis of residence in the upper or lower barrio o the
575 center. An association of cattle owners has developed in each of the sections, and the leaders of each association call together all members to clean the water holes and repair the troughs. A recent project of the cattle association of the upper section has been the erection of a large cross at the
[789] water hole. The water had dried up the year before, and the installation of the cross was an attempt to ensure a continuous supply of water in the fu-
[796] ture. The priest blessed the cross in the dedication, and the fiscal and prayer-reciters adorn it each year on May 3, the Day of the Cross in the old Catholic calendar, along with other crosses of the village.

233 Cattle grazing is the source of much of the conflict in the town. The cat-
621 tle roam freely in the woods and communal pasture lands, and many are
578 lost or stolen. The cattle association has not fenced in the pasture in order
575 to control it. Their tactics have been punitive; they have raised funds from
627 among members to hire men to kill suspected cattle thieves. In the last twenty years, six men have been killed as cattle thieves, and at least three of those were known to be killed by men hired by the association, which then paid the court fines to set the killers free. The leader of one of the cattle associations was killed after an incident in which he fined a man who had failed to assist in cleaning the water holes. The fine of 2 pesos per head of cattle represented a large fee for the man, who had sixty head. He refused to pay more than half, since he said he had not been notified.
[754] When his daughter later died of illness, he blamed her death on witchcraft exercised by the cattle association leader, and later killed him.

231 Cattle are only minimally exploited as a resource. The cattle are not
434 butchered locally since there is not a large enough market, but are sold to

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Ladino butchers in the neighboring town. The cows are not milked either for local consumption or sale. Fertilizers are for the most part wasted since the cattle roam freely in the communal pasture lands except in the case of a few corrals owned by families. Hides are cured rather crudely and are used for saddle packs or protective aprons by the men, but none are sold.

The cooperatives. The notion of a cooperative to mobilize capital had been introduced by the I.N.I. in 1957 with the inauguration of a store owned by over one hundred members of the community. In the first years of its existence, the cooperative had some difficulties, primarily in convincing the Indians that when the returns on shares were lower in any year from prior levels, it did not indicate that the agents were stealing the money.

The cooperative store was bought by the Indians of the town from the I.N.I. in 1964 after the members had some trouble receiving returns on their shares. There are now one hundred and twenty-two members. The profits of 1965 were reinvested in the purchase of the corn-grinding mill. Current profits at the store are lent at 5 percent per month interest. The store grosses 80 to 100 pesos in sales daily, and the mill grossess 100 pesos. The wages paid to the storekeeper are 300 pesos and to the miller 250 per month.

Now that the cooperative is independent of the government, one of the stated policies is not to sell a single share to a Ladino or member of another community. "We do not want to give gifts to the Ladinos," the secretary of the cooperative told me. He added, "There was a Ladino in Teopisca who wanted to join with 5,000 pesos, but we wouldn't let him in. If you let them in, they would come to dominate the pueblo." The cooperative store does not share profits with the consumers but gives dividends. The 11,380-peso assets in the year 1965 were reinvested in stock and in the purchase of corn at harvest which was then sold at one and a half or two times the sale price.

The Indians developed their first independent cooperative in the ownership of a *marimba,* a musical instrument like a xylophone, operated by eight men of the community. This enterprise failed because the players never developed sufficient skill to be commissioned to play outside of town.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

000 town. However, other cooperatives have been successfully organized to
474 finance small-scale oeprations. Five record players with loudspeakers have
275 been installed in the houses of members who sell liquor. Once the initial
216 investment is made, the operating costs are low: 27 pesos for electricity, 25
454 pesos for a liquor license, 30 pesos for *hacienda* or state tax, and 10 pesos
434 for the township tax. Liquor bought at 60 pesos for an 18-liter jug is resold at 72 pesos. The total monthly cost of 92 pesos yields a net profit of about 300 pesos. The cost of the installation, 5,000 pesos, was low enough for some of the richer members of the community to finance individually, but as one of the operators told me, it was too risky—that is, too profitable.

474 The envy the neighbors would feel on seeing the profits made would
434 never result in witchcraft against all of the members, whereas an individ-
626 ual owner could expect that he himself or a member of his household
754 would become ill or die as the victim of witchcraft. These early entrepreneurs recognize the value of the cooperative in overcoming the force of envy which has effectively inhibited acquisition or display in these corporate Indian communities. Instead of socializing losses, one of its functions [182] in modern capital organizations, the cooperative in Tzo'ontahal serves to socialize gains.

474 The most enterprising action of the new cooperatives has been the pur-
493 chase of a truck, initiated by the entrepreneur, Santos. The purchase of the
452 truck was inspired by the example of the Ladino secretary, who with his wife and son had a monopoly on the transportation of pottery, people, and wheat out of the village. Furthermore, in the neighboring town of Zinacantan the Indians were successfully operating two trucks. Santos went with his brother to the director of the I.N.I. in Las Casas to ask for a co-signer on the installment purchase of a Chevrolet truck, since without a Ladino sponsor Indians could not get credit with the company. According to one informant, I.N.I. officials advised them that they would not be able to profit from this venture and that they should buy a tractor with their money. The brothers persisted and went to the Dodge company in the state capital. The company agreed to sell to the Indians without Ladino co-signers on the basis of a down payment of 10,000 pesos. The initial payment was raised with thirty Indians putting up the money. Some gave no more than 150 pesos, but as the instigators of the purchase remarked, "The more members we have, the more power it gives us."

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

323 coming from the smaller towns to buy. The Indians still bring pottery to 178 sell retail in towns that they visit during a fiesta. One of these is the barrio 442 of Lok'ibal in the municipio of Villa Carranza, where people go on the 443 third Friday of Lent to get holy water from the spring.

The Indians have not taken advantage of the truck to buy pottery wholesale and market it directly in the smaller towns, selling from the truck in the plaza as some of the wholesale fruit truckers do. Another operation which they have failed to profit from is buying the wheat harvest and selling to government warehouses, as some of the Ladino truckers do.

44 Lack of capital is the major reason for failure to exploit these opportuni- 471 ties. In marketing the contraband liquor, which is the most flourishing of 273 the new enterprises, the Indians have not yet entered into the external 443 markets except in the case of one young unmarried mother. Wholesale 434 purchases are made by Ladinos, primarily women, from other towns who resell the liquor in Comitán and on the coast. There is however, a well-de- [675] veloped home market since all contracts are sealed with the offering of liq- [681] uor, the "gift of the gods," all court fines are paid in liquor, and the main [583] gift in betrothal is liquor. The cantinas with phonograph players opened [275] by the cooperatives operate very successfully on Saturday night and during [216] fiestas. The internal market for liquor is controlled by a syndicate of the [548] forty-two independent liquor distillers. The price is set at 4 pesos per liter [435] for all buyers, with the buyer providing the bottle.

Agricultural production is not geared to a market, and Indians do not 241 take advantage of fluctuations in price. Wheat yields a lower return per 442 unit of land than corn, but it is grown for two reasons: the Indians believe 443 that crop rotation of corn and wheat prevents depletion of the soil, and wheat requires less work since no cultivation is needed. Wheat is a cash crop and none of it is milled or consumed directly in town. Poor families sell their wheat "standing" to Teopisca truckers. The price given the [435] grower is usually about 90 pesos per hundred kilograms, and it is resold at 110 or 120 pesos in Tuxtla or to the government storehouses. Wheat is sometimes brought directly to San Cristóbal millers who give 120 per hundred kilograms. Corn is primarily a subsistence crop when grown in the center. Corn grown in hot country ejido land is now sold in Teopisca and [489] San Cristóbal. The local truck cooperative has a special permit which gives

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Atnatenango del Valle

but his style of living is indistinguishable from theirs. The only difference is the larger number of dogs he[1] keeps to guard his wealth stored in the form of surplus crops in the eaves of his house.

The kind of economic change occurring in Tzo'ontahal fits the model of a moving equilibrium. Tightly controlled behavioral schema preserve the traditional productive activities in pottery and agriculture. They provide the framework into which the new enterprises are fit. Increasing dependence of cosumption choices on external markets is slowly transforming the content but not the pattern of community life. This kind of change is limited to societies that form a distinct corporate group. In an open society where many alternatives are available, the painful process of accommodation of the new to a customary pattern would probably not be undertaken given the tendency for social change to follow the course of least resistence. The absorption of economic innovation in Tzo'ontahal illustrates the ability of closed corporate communities to participate in commercial undertakings and reformulate them to fit their own pattern.

[1] [i.e., the richest man in town. - Analyst]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

591
593
[192] parents. This role is institutionalized and the youngest child is referred to as *k'ol*, the last one.

591
593
182 The choice of residence after marriage is influenced by the following factors:

1. The couple live with whatever family has less pressure from immature siblings remaining in the household. If there is no other child in one family, there is a strong likelihood that the new family will remain in that household.

591
182
434 2. If there is any wealth difference, the couple tends to live with the richer family. "Wealthy" families prefer to have their children live near them and will make an effort to build a house within their compound or nearby.

Table 15. Trends in Household Composition, 1958–1964

592
178
501
1:2

Family type	*Alannantik* No. of families	*Alannantik* Percent of total families	*Ahk'olnantik* No. of families	*Ahk'olnantik* Percent of total families	*Total* No. of families	*Total* Percent of total families
Remained the same						
Nuclear	49	76	38	57	87	67
Virilocal	7	11	11	16	18	14
Uxorilocal	4	6	7	11	11	9
Joint sib	1	2	1	2	2	1
Grandparent-grandchild	1	2	2	3	3	2
Incomplete	2	3	7	11	9	7
Total	64	100	66	100	130	100
Percent of all families		44		34		39
New families created						
Nuclear	16	89	48	88	64	88
Uxorilocal	1	5.5	1	2	2	3
Incomplete	1	5.5	6	10	7	9
Total	18	100	55	100	73	100
Percent of all families		12		28		21
Families which changed *	64	44	74	38	138	40
Total number of families	146	100	195	100	341	100

* Direction of change indicated in Table 16.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The relationship of respect and obedience between parents and children is expected to last throughout life. When a boy reaches the age of eighteen, his parents are expected to provide him with a wife. Wealthier families tend to fulfill this obligation at an earlier age than do poorer families, in which the boy may have to work in the fincas or in the sawmills to acquire the money for his own marriage.

Instruction in sexual behavior and reproduction is not characterized by continuity, as is instruction about work tasks. Children are given no information about sex prior to marriage, and girls remain entirely innocent. They may be pregnant several months before they are aware of what is happening. The complete sexual segregation in work tasks and play during adolescence makes the relationship between sexes strained.

Even after marriage, the parents are concerned with maintaining their child's marital situation, or, if they judge their child's spouse to be incorrigible, to help him get rid of his partner. In the case of women, in particular, parents continue to provide a refuge in case a daughter's husband should die, be sent to prison, or prove incompatible. Parents usually accompany their children if they are called into court, and failure to attend is tantamount to admitting the guilt of the child.

In successful marriages, the parents-in-law are equivalent to parents and are called "mother" and "father." The parents of both spouses attend the life-crisis ceremonies of their children and grandchildren. Grandparents provide support and care for grandchildren if their parents should die or remarry.

When parents reach the age of about sixty-five, they are no longer expected to work actively. A man will then distribute all of his land and animals among his children. He will expect to be taken care of by all of his children, but special responsibility falls on the youngest who will inherit the house. Sometimes aged parents move from one of their children's houses to another, spending a few months or years with each. Children are expected to pay for any curing ceremonies necessary in their parents' old age and to provide a good funeral appropriate to their wealth. Failure to do this incurs loss of respect with the neighbors and collateral relatives of the deceased. If the parents die after they have distributed their possessions, the crisis following the death is minimal. At the funeral, mature children of a deceased parent exhibit to the community their filial respect.

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzaltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The principle of balancing posts according to residence in the dual division is maintained in the traditional civil posts but fails to be effective again in the case of the president. Increasing population in the upper division meant that the expensive post of alférez had to be filled primarily from the side with the highest population. This unbalancing of the sharing of these burdensome posts eventually led to revolt and the post was abolished. Since it was the key post in learning prayers, its loss may mean the end of the traditional rituals in the home.

The hierarchy fails to provide sufficient prestige or power to motivate people voluntarily to undertake some posts. The most vulnerable post was that of alférez. In fulfilling obligations to the saints, alfereces used to spend over 3,000 pesos, twice the normal income of a man in one year. They were assisted by members of their immediate households either in loans or in the sale of pottery to help pay for the house fiestas. The show of wealth at these fiestas, when up to one hundred guests were fed, excited the envy of neighbors, often among the invited guests. It was felt that this provoked witchcraft, and every former alférez I knew maintained that he suffered some catastrophe following his year in office. In the last few years before its demise in 1966 the post was accepted only under duress, and all those who had been nominated at first chose to go to jail. The reason that it survived as long as it did was the insistence of those officials who served in this post that it was essential to maintaining good fiestas. The resolution of the contradictions by abolishing the post contrast with that of Zinacantan, where men sought the prestige-conferring posts that involved large expenditures of money as a validation of wealth (Cancian 1965).

Another contradition which minimizes the motivation to undertake the traditional posts is that the highest post in the ladder, that of principal, is one associated with embarrassment and shame rather than prestige. Shorn of his roles in decision-making and in guarding public funds, the principal is reduced to holding the plate in which donations for the major fiestas are placed. The ceremonial role of the principales will probably survive, however, since the old men of the community who have retired from active work in the fields enjoy the drinking sessions in the cabildo sufficiently to compensate for the shame associated with the role.

The internal structural contradictions have to be considered in the con-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

794 796 *Judge: "By force you must receive it. You do not have to give as much. You only have to receive the sacred banner."*

Nominee: "But if I don't give a fiesta, the pueblo will speak badly of me."

Judge: "It is not important what the pueblo says. Pardon us, let us drink a little trago."

[273] *[All the officers drank, contributing jointly to buy the liquor. Each officer took one sip from the measure, but the nominee drank the entire measure on each round. When he became intoxicated, he yielded to the persuasions of the officials and agreed.]*

Nominee: "Good. I am going to see how it goes."

[The two regidores carried the new alférez to his house.]

794 796 The activities of the alférez in preparation for the fiesta during which he was installed in his post are summarized below.

• 434 462 323 Making pottery. *The new alférez prepared for the fiesta by organizing his household to make the pottery that was to be sold to cover the expenses. His brothers and brothers-in-law went on horseback bringing fifteen or twenty loads of clay. The women got the sand, carrying it back with the tumpline. The men went on horseback again to collect the limestone temper, which the women would grind and mix with the clay for cooking pots. The next week, the alférez went with a gift of 2 pesos' worth of bread and one liter of liquor to ask the woman who knew how to make large ollas, pots in which the festal foods are cooked, to help him. The sisters and sisters-in-law of both the alférez and his wife joined together to grind the temper and mix the clay. In addition to the special large pots, the women made bowls, soup plates, and water jugs to sell.*

When the pottery was ready to be fired, the men brought the wood and the women tended to the firing. After the pots were fired, the men sold them in the markets of San Cristóbal or Comitán. They usually made about 26 pesos per dozen, which netted them about 900 pesos.

794 782 Learning the pat?o?tan. *Each evening, an elder of the family of the alférez who knew the pat?o?tan, or prayer, came to teach him. This*

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

ginal to the community, either a foreign Indian, as in the case of Augustín, or a Ladino, as in the cases of the secretary and schoolmaster described below. The only indigenous candidate for the role was recently killed. It provokes too much envy for someone socialized in the community; fear of being accused and even killed as a witch or a power-seeker is justified by several such precedents. Those with the skills to become caciques have until recently been effectively incorporated in the existing hierarchy as firmanetik.

Second, the cacique is a gatekeeper, channeling information, goods, and services from the outside to the members of the community. In this capacity, he prefers to pose as a benefactor when he may actually be no more than the distributor of government welfare goods and services.[4]

Third, the role of cacique is one in which the incumbent operates in a local sphere, but depends upon a network of compadrazgo and professional ties outside of the community to assure his position in the community. He must be sufficiently aware of the local idiom in order to avoid making enemies.

Finally, the role is monopolistic. This results in part from the fact that the outside world prefers to deal with a single representative for reasons of expediency. However, new governmental agents are more and more dealing directly with Indians, a factor which has shaken the position of the cacique. The monopolistic quality of the position also stems from the fact that the profit to be gleaned from the community is small. A Ladino from a neighboring town commented that it was worth the time of only one man to exploit an Indian community of the size of Tzo'ontahal. The extractable profit is diminishing as the Indians become more aware of their rights.

The change in character and range of activities of local caciques is illustrated by the recent careers of two residents of Tzo'ontahal. In the 1950s and until 1964, the Ladino secretary, Don Ramon, had filled the role of cacique. He took advantage of this role not only by collecting a salary and a percentage of court fees, but also by earning money for using his influence in Ladino official circles outside the community. He lent money for interest and subsidized some enterprises such as growing cabbages with Indian partners.

4. Goldrich (1965) points to this tactic of politicians who distribute government goods as though they were their own gifts.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

621 593 581 794 Familial role requirements must be fulfilled in order for public roles to be undertaken. A man must be married in order to enter into even the lowest posts in the civil and religious hierarchies.

794 556 434 554 Only in the case of the alfereces has wealth ever been a criterion for recruitment. These four officials had to be able to spend 3,000 pesos during their year in office. The heavy expenditures failed to give prestige to the official, and the display of wealth excited envy rather than respect. The result was that people called upon to accept the post had to be imprisoned before they would accept.

554 756 Recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on innate qualities; special skills and knowledge are attributes acquired in office or other role positions rather than requirements for undertaking roles. Curers are recruited because they are recognized as having an animal spirit; they learn whatever skills are required after they have been initiated into the profession. The curers' special position in the society rests more on esoteric powers than on esoteric knowledge. Everyone in the community knows the herbs and medicines which are prescribed, and most men can give as comprehensive a taxonomy of illnesses as any practicing curer. [298]

868 241 [857] [883] Economic roles, though largely undifferentiated for each sex, are consciously learned and transmitted. Boys accompany their fathers or elder brothers to the field at about the age of eight and continue working with them until they reach independence. Observation of behavior alone would seem to indicate an unconscious absorption of the role of agricultural worker, but informants recount episodes in which training in field work was explicitly transmitted by their fathers or brothers, and formal approval of their ability to do the tasks announced to their mothers. Parents express fear that school attendance not only interferes with working in the milpa, but that it will cause the child to forget what he has learned in the field. Regardless of what other tasks a man performs, he thinks of himself as a farmer. [871]

868 323 Becoming a potter requires an even more explicit training procedure. The fine linguistic segmentation of each act and movement in the schedule of pottery-making is a clue to the explicit transmission of tasks by the

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The assumption that leisure is a concept unique to highly civilized societies is denied by peasant behavior in this community and many others like it in which the members are masters of the greater part of their time. What differentiates their scheduling of leisure-time activities from that of most western societies is that theirs is based on community decisions rather than individual predilections and that it is set in the frame of sacred rather than secular performances. Community standards are most notable in the way people dress for fiestas: women wear their newest embroidered blouses; their hair is neatly braided with ribbons. Men wear a kotončų with their cleanest shirt and pants. The children, except for the youngest, wear clothes like the adults'. Villagers "care for" the celebration by sitting on their porches, greeting neighbors, smoking and talking. When a public performance is held in the church or plaza, they participate as observers. Arduous work of any kind is proscribed. Special foods are prepared and served at regular mealtimes. A special mark of all days of fiesta is the serving of fermented corn beverage. Meat or chicken is more likely to be served on Sundays and holidays than on other days.

Timing as a Strategy in Interpersonal Relations

The preferred mode of action is "slow and soft." This applies to motion, especially in rituals, as well as to the scheduling of actions in a series of negotiations. The people are sensitive to the use of time in bargaining as an index to the relative resources of the negotiators. Withholding power in the market gives a marked price advantage in the sale of crops. Sale in advance of harvest means a loss of one-quarter to one-half of the price which could be gained if the crop was sold after it was cut, and corn sometimes doubles in value if withheld for six months or more. Interest as a time payment for the use of money is accepted on the basis that the borrower could put it to work. There is no feeling against the evil of usury, although the rates are relatively high in town—five percent per month.

This understanding of time as an indicator of relative strength extends to social functions. Time serves as an interval to build confidence on the part of both parties entering into contractual arrangement. In the betrothal, both parties are prepared for a long series of visits before the suit

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

621 Among its duties are those of keeping vital statistics for
659 the National Population Bureau which are sent to the state office,
892 solving cases of adultery and theft, collecting the fiesta and
351 Ejido taxes, keeping the streets clean, building and repairing
363 roads and public buildings, and also taking charge of the local
491 jail. Ayuntamiento officers are also called in to prevent or solve
499 witchcraft cases and give advice and reprimands to misbehaving
344 wives, sons and other relatives when the household or the responsible
754 relatives cannot deal with the case on their own.
626

621 The Ayuntamiento also keeps its own corn field, worked by
423 communal labor, whose crop is sold to collect funds for its own
432 expenses.
434

794 The Mayordomia, or religious body, performs the formal activities on the religious holidays, is the custodian of the sacred objects (rockets, church keys, bells) connected with the Church, and the authority which carries out the tasks required by all of man's peaceful relations with the supernatural on the village level.

They are responsible as a group for the upkeep of the Church building and saint images, and the preparations for and the performance of Church Fiestas, regular church meetings, etc. Among their duties are those of providing meals for the priest while he is in town, helping during mass, contracting musicians and collecting the Church limosna during mass.

621 This structural level lacks monopoly of either of these functions in relation to other less inclusive social units. Social control and religious activity are carried on at the level of the barrio, the extended family, and within the household, and religious activity can be carried on by individuals.

423 necessary to plant it. In some land more seed is necessary, so a
433 tablón, a measure of how much seed is planted in a parcel, tends to be about a hectare, but can also be irregular in shape or somewhat larger or smaller.

434 Ideological and Sanctioning Mechanisms

Even if a domestic group manages to accumulate profits from the extra work of its members, the forced assumption of fiesta obligations and cargos (Officerships) inhibits capital accumulation and redistributes the profits back into the community in the form of consumable goods: food, alcohol, cohetes, etc.
621 The assumption of the cargos requires a certain amount of capital
556 to spend on the expenses attached to the post, so it is likely that a household head who has managed to save some extra money is going to be called to perform his duties as an officer rather than the other men with less wealth and equal qualifications.

621 In terms of economic and political bases for differentiation, then, the communities are egalitarian. Villagers insist that everybody is just like everybody else: "we are all equal, we all follow the customs, we are all poor, we are all agriculturalists,
621 we are all Indians, just the same," they say. Nevertheless, they
183 would also admit that some people are good and some "have bad hearts," and therefore would not follow the customs, or would try to become richer by getting involved in economic enterprises which are not Indian (such as buying or selling for high profit, or lending money, or becoming store clerks). They would imitate the Ladinos in their speech, dress or their house layout, become "alzados"

NM would inherit the cattle, but there is no assurance that the animals would not rapidly die: the children may not have the father's suerte to raise cattle, but one of them may have it to grow beans.

Good suerte is a concept attached also to certain skills: if a man has that special suerte, he can have a mano fría (cold hand) which is necessary to castrate or brand animals without having their wounds get infected. In addition, a woman can become a midwife because she has the suerte to deliver babies. On the contrary, a person with bad suerte can have a mano caliente (hot hand), and be unable to carry on such tasks.[1]

156 754 777 Then, ideologically, people belong to two opposite categories. On the one hand, there are those with "small hearts" and witchcraft powers. On the other hand, there are good people with suerte. If a man is well thought of, the villagers say he has suerte. If they dislike him, they say he is a witch.

Every villager has to gamble carefully and weigh his odds, balancing his behavior in such a way as to avoid the "misjudgement" of his fellow villagers. The better they know and like him, the more likely it is that they would think that he has suerte. The more he creates enemies, the higher his probability of being

---

[463] [434] [1]There are many part-time specialists in the village who do their work for neighbors and relatives at irregular intervals, never as a life specialization, except in a few cases such as midwives. Women may castrate chickens, or be called in as cooks at fiesta time. Men may be good at branding horses, roofing, etc. None of these jobs contributes substantially to the household income, except for the roles of carpenter, midwife and curer. Curers, however, are a separate category altogether, being ritual specialists "known" to have metaphysical powers.

241 592 462 Each man tries to cultivate enough food to make his household self-sufficient the whole year around.

241 868 The younger males of a household are initiated into the agricultural work by their fathers and elder brothers who work with the household head in the same fields. Around the age of ten, they are expected to leave grammar school and the children's playground, and to start learning their life trade: the techniques of cultivation. [582] No young male is capable of marrying if he is not capable of bearing on his shoulders the economic burden of supporting a household with his labor in the fields.

241 433 434 In addition to producing enough corn for the consumption of his homestead, a man is expected to cultivate some surplus which the household can exchange in the local markets and stores for the manufactured goods and staples which they need: machetes, candles, needles, coffee and various other commodities. Moreover, [464] if the household is in need of extra cash to pay for the expenses of a burial, a wedding, or any other emergency expenditure, he is expected to earn it by selling his labor to other men in the village for wages, or by working for short periods of time in the sugar cane plantation of Pujiltic. (Usually between one and two weeks of wage work will cover such emergencies. See Fig. 5.)

562 462 The women of Aguacatenango are economically dependent on their male relatives: father, husband, siblings and adult male children. The women have many responsibilities; they are in charge of cooking and cleaning, sewing the family clothes, gathering [231] firewood for the hearth, and educating the young. They are also [241] in charge of feeding the small livestock which is kept in the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 77]

462 [231] [241] sitio (household territory): pigs and chickens, and the cultivation of the rudimentary gardens within the back patios. These gardens do not have great economic importance. Women plant chiles, cilantro, chayotes, té limón, mostaza, and sometimes even beans and a small milpa for elote (tender corn), but gardening is not a serious occupation: most women only plant two of three varieties of plants, a little bush of flavor herbs for the beans, some medicinal plant, or some flowers to ornament the house altar. Many backyards just grow wild, and the collection of its products is mainly "gathering in one's backyard" rather than harvesting (see Fig. 6).

[434] By selling the products of the small garden, some eggs, or fruits, a woman can contribute to the household cash income, but this money is considered somewhat of a luxury. The extra cash can be used to buy some clothes before a fiesta, or a new pot, or a similar item, but women are not expected to support their families: this is the basic responsibility of the family men.

166 462 464 Women have very few cultural alternatives for transforming their labor into a substantial income. Young single girls whose parents are too poor to support them, or who are alocadas (lightheaded) and desire to break away from home, can leave town to go to work as servants in Ladino towns. Wives running away from a mother-in-law who is too strict, or from a drunkard husband, or widows, would occasionally take up this kind of work. This, of course, isolates a woman from the village, and is a form of self-imposed exile. Working for Ladinos is a somewhat awe inspiring [879] idea. Women "know" or suspect that Ladino men violate Indian

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 79]

166 462 464 [829] women and that Ladino women mistreat their servants. Working in towns is remembered, by those who have done it, as a strange mixture of carefree economic independence and innumerable small humilitations and suffering. Its lack of attractiveness is well reflected in the fact that, from a random sample of sixty-eight households, only fourteen women have worked outside their homes (see Fig. 5).

560 462 434 [464] [275] The only women who are the bread-winners or heads of their homes are forced to do so because they have no male relatives to provide for them. In this case, they have few alternatives open to them, the two most common being: 1) acting as a servant (already discussed above), or 2) selling liquor in their houses to the men of the village. This second occupation is not very well thought of by the villagers, trago sellers being gossiped about as being bold women, "sexy" females who enjoy the company of drunks and men married to other women. [558]

Amatenango

462 323 438 [241] [434] In Amatenango, the division of labor presents a very different picture. The whole village of Amatenango is a pottery factory because, in addition to the household income derived from the agricultural work of the village men, each Amatenango woman is a pottery producer.

Pottery that is made for selling is neither a choice, nor a part-time job, nor an individual specialization, but a town specialty. All women in Amatenango are expected to know how to make pots, and to make them. The women of each household

462 distribute their work so that while one takes care of the regular
323 home tasks: cooking, caring for the young, cleaning, etc., the
438 other can occupy herself in gathering clay, coiling or modeling. Most steps in the production of pots are arranged in an "assembly line" style, with the women distributing their individual work according to the needs of the stage of the productive activity. Some of these steps, such as firing, require their close and alert cooperation to be carried on successfully. Pottery production [434] represents about half of the income of each independent household, with some slight variation, because households richer in land produce less pots than poorer ones.

Comparison

433 Pottery production in the hands of the women shapes the
184 economic landscape of Amatenango very differently than the one of
241 Aguacatenango. In the first place, agriculture is a business where
433 the risks are high and the profits unstable. The agricultural production of the villages depends on many uncontrollable factors. Too little rain or too much, too early rain or too late, worm pests or wild animals, can ruin the year's crop. The villagers try to insure the risks of a bad year by planting in as many different types of fields as they can. They plant in the hot country where the crops mature fast, and in the high, cold country where the maturation process is slow but the corn, of a hardier variety, is more resistant to weather conditions. They plant irrigated land to insure water if rain is missing, and in temporal to insure against the drying up of the sources of irrigated water. But even

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

241 then, each season is a question mark, an equally unpredictable
423 year of plenty or a lean year.

184 In Amatenango, when the crop fails or is poor, the income
323 of the villagers can be compensated by producing more pottery.
211 This is obviously not so in Aguacatenango. If hunger threatens
433 the families, the result is a higher migration rate or an increase
434 in the number of men leaving town to work part-time in the fincas.
184 The result of having an alternative form of income within the
166 homestead in Amatenango is that the village keeps its income more
464 balanced year after year, and that the village as a whole has a
731 reputation of being richer than the other communities.
184
434
621

184 In Aguacatenango, the women are an economic burden. The
434 men are very aware that they themselves "do all the work." Women
462 have long and leisurely afternoons which are spent sitting on
562 their porches grooming, chatting, or visiting. Men complain of this, saying "Women cannot realize how hard a man has to work. They complain of not having this or that, but they do not know. . . ." In Amatenango, on the contrary, women are important producers, men and women sharing, equally, the responsibility of supporting their families.

Thus, in the one case, Aguacatenango, the work of women has a marginal, undeterminate value in an economic milieu in which they have no cultural alternatives to convert their labor into goods or subsistence necessities; in the other case, Amatenango, the labor input of women represents about half of the total productive efforts of the villagers.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

184
562
462
434 This contrasting economic picture has many effects in the structuring of social relations because it places the women of the two villages in very different positions with respect to their male relatives, and at crucial points in the life of an individual, determines, to a large extent, his choice of alternative behavior.

It is important to make clear that I am not suggesting that economic factors are the determinant of all social life. The specialization of Amatenango in pottery making is not only an economic, but a social and historical phenomenon as well. The basic economic organization of the villages of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is treated here as a given cultural factor. There is nothing in the ecology of Aguacatenango or Amatenango, or in the economic system itself, that "requires" that the women of the one village should be marginal producers while the women in the other are not.[1] This is a given fact. The factors that determined the present division of labor in the villages are not known to me, and I do not pretend that it is due to some primary economic cause.

128 But, if I take the division of labor and the economic structure of the village as given variables, then I can ask myself to what extent it is followed by adjustments in other cultural norms. It is here where my problem lies.

I am going to attempt to describe, in the rest of this work, how, and under what circumstances, certain social choices which have become normative are related to the economic life of

---

[1] Some of the clay deposits are located in Aguacatenango territory. But, Aguacatecos do not exploit them.

(BM)

184 562 462 592 used as a cash crop) or livestock. He decides when and where to plant what, who should buy or sell any household property, when to go to market, etc. If a son is living with his father, he 592 593 562 can talk about "our cow," but he is usually referring to his father's animal. In the same way, when a woman who is single talks about "our maize," she is referring to the maize cultivated by her father and brothers and stored by her mother. If she is married, she means the maize produced by her father-in-law and husband, and controlled by her mother-in-law.

592 593 562 [606] The eldest woman in the household has authority over the younger females residing within it, including the daughter-in-law, because during the period in which a married man resides with his parents, the wife, being the younger, is under the direct [251] authority of her husband's mother. The elder woman controls the food given to her by her husband and son, and she keeps it stored in the tapanco (roof granary). She selects the food for the meals, and sets up the housekeeping schedule for the younger women in the homestead.

592 593 434 562 Women "keep" the money that their husbands earn at home. They are supposed to save it, and not spend any of it without the husband's permission. They do control small amounts of cash which they can obtain by selling eggs, fruits or some vegetables that they grow in the garden. They are allowed to spend it on some luxuries: new clothes for a fiesta, a new pot, or something similar, but they are not expected to take care of themselves.

59 562 Before marriage, a woman is supported by her father and brothers, and lives under her father's roof. After marriage, she is

592
593
562
421

her before making important decisions, and allow her to handle some of the household property, such as the selling of pigs.

562
593

But even under the best conditions, the position of a woman is de facto lower than the position of men. If her husband gets drunk and beats her up, she is not supposed to complain, but accept it as part of her role. One of our informants said that once she scolded her husband for drinking, and he said: "I am not asking you for the money." If he is unfaithful, she has no real way of controlling his behavior except by leaving his house, running away to San Cristóbal to work for a few days as a servant or breaking up the marriage.

593
586
837

184
562
434
592
421

In Amatenango, the pottery making village, the situation is quite different. First, women are economically independent, being able to make a living without a male in the household. Second, they control the profits made by the household from the sale of pottery and from the sale of cash crops such as chayotes which they plant in their gardens. In many cases, they own the house in which they live with their husband and children. They contribute as much as their male siblings to the support of the whole domestic group while they were living in their family's home, and it is possible for them to inherit both land and cattle, a fact which reinforces the equivalent standing between women and their male siblings.

184
593
[837]

Adultery in Amatenango has strong reactive sanctions for both men and women, and a "wife is considered within her rights to order an erring husband out of the house." "Women do not tolerate

423 593 [432] [184] The reasons for keeping a son are not as pressing as the reasons for keeping a daughter. Amatenango land holdings are somewhat smaller than Aguacatenango, and the buying and selling of agricultural parcels, as long as it does not involve outsiders to the village, is a common practice which accounts for approximately 16 per cent of land transactions. The

423 241 592 464 limited land holding units in Amatenango require minimal cooperation in agriculture. Because of fractured land holdings, fewer than one-half of the households have two tablones . . . of land. Therefore, fewer than one-half the households can keep more than one man actively employed. Even in those households with from two to five tablones, a man and his adult son are sufficient labor for most activities except harvest. 592 323 •434 868 Women's pottery production, however, requires frequent cooperation. Two tendencies are reinforcing the cooperation of women, especially of mothers and daughters: (1) with increasing need for cash income to buy products which are not longer produced in the home, or which have been introduced, money is constantly needed. Pottery offers an easy means of acquiring cash with almost immediate returns, and (2) marriages are currently contracted at a later age for girls than formerly. [582] [178] Before, about a generation ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve were the rule. Most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques begins at that age. Consequently, pottery was taught to the daughter by the mother-in-law if the girl [114] was married and resided in the husband's house. (See Frans Blom and Oliver LaFarge [1927] who commented that all pottery was taught by the mother-in-law.) Most marriages now are contracted for girls from 14 to 17 years of age. At this time they are already proficient potters, and accustomed to working with their mother. Therefore, there is a greater stress put on their remaining in or near their parental home after marriage (Nash, J., 1960:47).[1]

592 868 323 The people of Amatenango recognize that during the period in which a woman learns to make pottery, she establishes particular habits of cooperation and a strong solidarity bond with the woman from whom she learns and with whom she works. "Parents say that there is an advantage in early marriages, in that the girl would be more willing to learn the ways of her mother-in-law if she

---

[161] [1]It is also important to notice that with the increase in population over the area, the market has increased.

takes up residence in her husband's house" (Nash, J., 1960:28) at an age in which she is not fully trained in pottery production. At the same time, "mothers prefer to keep their daughters at home at least until the age of fourteen if there is no economic necessity in the family" (Nash, J., 1960:28).

Pottery production as a source of income is not equally important for all households. (1) Households with more children produce less pottery, because "child care compete with pottery making for a woman's time." (2) Households with more women produce more pottery because the different tasks of the woman: pottery making, child care, and house maintenance, can be best distributed among them during the day. (3) The motivation to work at pottery production is stronger in poorer households, "because alternative sources of income are less, and more of the family subsistence must come from pottery making." (4) Households with more men and land produce less pottery. First, land needs men to work it, and a single man cannot work much, or lay claim to government Ejido land of any considerable size. "In richer households (in terms of land and cattle) there is sufficient milpa raised that corn need not be bought, and the need for continuous cash income is not so pressing. This has also a circular effect: richer households tend to be able to keep more children alive; with more children to care for, women devote less time to pottery." "Conversely, poorer households depend upon pottery income, have fewer children, and less experience with prolonged periods of little or no pottery production" (Nash, M., 1961:188).

If the woman's work in pottery is a crucial factor in

591 If the woman's work in pottery is a crucial factor in
592 making residence choices, then poorer households, which depend
323 more on pottery sales as an important source of income, should
434 also show more emphasis on having the daughters stay at home
361 after marriage, and therefore, the incidence of uxorilocal residence and matrilocal proximity of women should be higher.

361 Within Amatenango "there are clusters of bilaterally re-
602 lated kin which form neighborhood groups. Two of these neighborhoods are spatially set apart from other houses of the barrio
361 and are named" (Nash, J., 1960:32). One of them, the neighbor-
591 hood of Santa Cruz, is composed of households which show greater
434 poverty in comparison with the rest of the village. As it was hypothesized, Santa Cruz also shows a greater incidence of matrilocal proximity. The correlation between lack of household wealth (which increases the importance of woman's pottery making) and residential proximity of a woman to her maternal home is statistically significant at the .001 level (see Table 16).

361 On the other hand, one should also expect the married men
591 to live further apart from their own parents because (1) those who
16 stay at home would reside and work with their wife's relatives,
434 and (2) it is said that some of the men of the neighborhood are
464 forced by their poverty to migrate to the lowlands seeking work in the ranches, and may stay there permanently. This hypotheses is confirmed; the correlation is significant at the .05 level of confidence (see Table 16).

361 The result of poverty in this neighborhood is that while
591 for the community as a whole 49 per cent of the women live in the
434 same neighborhood as their parents, in Santa Cruz 67 per cent of

[TEXT continued on P. 162]

the women do so, and while 63 per cent of the men in the village live in close patrilocal proximity, only 40 per cent of the men in Santa Cruz live near their parents (see Table 16).

Residence of Widows

Another striking contrast between Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women, in the latter, as household heads, and their residence after they become widows.

First, because in many cases a woman owns the house in which she lives with her husband and children, she is not obliged to move out of the site if her husband dies, as she is in Aguacatenango. Second, she does not need an adult man in the household to be able to support herself and the children because she is able to meet the economic demands of the domestic groups from her own labor in pottery production. The result of women's economic independence is that many of them are the heads of their own households. Out of 280 households, 39 have female heads, and 25 do not contain any adult men (the others contain younger sons-in-law). This also means that all corn is bought; there is no income derived from agriculture, but only from pottery sales. In Aguacatenango, where all income derives directly or indirectly from agriculture, this situation is inconceivable: there are no households without men, nor households in which a female is the absolute head of the unit.

The Marriage Transactions and the Household

In Aguacatenango, a man selects his future spouse and his father arranges the marriage for him. At the ceremonial visits

583 584 which are exchanged between future parents-in-law, the bride-price or bocado is paid. The bocado is fixed: 300 pesos in goods.

582 184 434 Parents try to marry off their daughters within their own economic level to provide a similar standard of living for them. They will strongly refuse to give them to a poorer household if they are not very poor themselves. If the household is very poor, the first solution is to marry off the daughters, since they are consumers who do not contribute to the household income. If a poor household cannot find a husband for a daughter within the village, they will even give her to an outsider, for example, to a man from La Palizada. This is viewed as an unfortunate, but inevitable, choice. La Palizada is a settlement in the high, cold [595] country. It is very poor. A woman marrying into it is viewed with pity because La Palizada men are polygamous and their wives work in the cornfields with them. Of two cases of marriages with La Palizada which we know about (one in the past and another that is contemporary), the only reason given for the marriage was the poverty of the households.

582 583 If a young man in town insists on marrying the daughter of a couple richer than his own household, they will refuse because "the girl is not used to the hardships." If the girl decides on her own that she likes the man, the usual procedure is elopement at night to the boy's house. In this case, a poor man can get a richer bride without the bride-price, but he does not get any of the economic advantages shared by her family. The girl is cut-off from any social interaction with her family of orientation. Later, if the marriage proves stable, the young deviant couple can attempt

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

583 to reconcile themselves with the wife's parents by paying the agradecimiento (thankfulness payment), half of the established bride-pride. In those cases, it is considered that the full bride-price is not necessary "because the couple was already
[591] living together." It follows that elopement cases are always patri-virilocal in residence.

592 In Amatenango, where women are important laborers, the
562 household considers them an economic asset. They will not marry
582 them off early except in case of extreme need, and they will use
434 their marriage to form economic alliances with households at other levels of wealth. If they are not interested in keeping her because there is another married child in the household but they do not have immediate economic need, they will wait and try to marry her into a richer household. If they are interested in keep-
591 ing her in the unit as a producer, they will marry her to a poorer
583 man and ask him to come and reside uxorilocally. When the residence choice at the time of the marriage is patri-virilocal, the bride-price is much higher than in Aguacatenango: 1,000 pesos rather than 300. Unfortunately, we do not know what the amount of the bride-price is, if it is anything at all, when residence after marriage is matri-uxorilocal.

582 The contrast between the marriage transactions in Aguaca-
191 tenango and Amatenango is not unique to these two villages, but seems to be a recurrent structural pattern when there are differences in the labor market for women. Tax (1953) reports a similar contrast for Guatemala. In Panajachel, where women's labor has a high value, "marriages tend to cross wealth lines, with a man of a

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango .
Aguacatenango

121 593 previous pages. Homans points out that this ambiguity is neither accidental, nor "natural," but "tends to reappear in societies all over the world in which the family is an important productive unit and the father is the boss" (Homans, 1950:245).

593 [184] The relation son-mother, however, ought to be different in the two communities. In Aguacatenango, a mother has less and less authority over a son the older he grows. While a man is a child, she controls him without discussion, but as he becomes more and more mature, his role as a man, a superior, makes for conflicting social power. On the one hand the mother is older, and therefore has more authority. Yet on the other hand, she is a female, and therefore the son (a male) has more authority. The balancing of authority between the two cancels it out. A son can, if he wishes, completely alienate himself from his mother. She has not much power to punish or sanction him, no property she can withdraw from him. If he misbehaves, she can only try to advise him or complain to her husband. On the other hand, the absence of authority between the two makes the relationship highly affectionate. If a son stays at home or close-by after marriage, the interaction mother-son is frequent and friendly. In many cases the mother will make a coalition with the son against her husband, defending the younger man. Mothers tend to be very partial towards the judgement of their sons' behavior, and sons obtain what they want from the fathers through their mothers.

In Amatenango, the mother has more economic power over the [434] [428] son. She can give him cash for extra needs, and he can inherit land or a house from her, as well as from his father.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9~Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

562 The inheritance rights of women are highly controversial.
428
578 All the cases of conflict over the inheritance or rights of usufruct of land, that we know about, involved a woman in the line
[183] of transmission. But however controversial, they are an established pattern. This is shown in the following cases.

Case 1

159 Delfina is about twenty-four years old, and still single.
592 She was raised by her godmother in San Cristóbal, and her aspira-
593
562 tions are to become a Ladina. She has consistently refused to
554 marry any Indian man, and lives with her parents in a large com-
428
434 pound. She is economically self-sufficient (perhaps the only woman in the village which is in the same position), because she works for the INI as a sewing teacher, and her status in the household is quite high due to the fact that she draws a large salary and that her parents are close to senility and dependent on her. Until recently, her married brother lived in the compound with his parents. He insisted that at his parents death he should inherit everything: land, house and animals. Delfina and his father were of the opposite opinion: the house should be for Delfina, since she was supporting them and, as she expressed it: "she did not get married." Faced with the brother's insistence about his traditional rights, the father ordered him out of the household, and he and his wife left town and went to live in
[626] Amatenango. Most villagers, however, think that Delfina is in the wrong. They say that she is elzada (prideful) and loose in her relations with Ladino men (the employees of the INI that come to the village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

177
178 lineage (which exists today in many other communities such as
754 Oxchuc), has disappeared. Without the basic belief in the super-
776
613 natural controlling powers of the lineage heads, the ritual activities performed by the lineage as a corporation became meaningless, and fell out of use.

592
613 Finally, from an economic point of view, the large patriline
434 household-compound, as a productive unit, is unfunctional, and the
421 characteristic form of the domestic group is now the nuclear house-
578 hold, which also contributes to the weakening of patriline strength. Within the nuclear household, it is difficult for its members to discriminate between the part of the household income that is derived from the household head in his capacity as a worker and that which is from his unmarried sons; between those profits which are derived from the household head as a capitalist who has provided tools and implements, and finally those which come from his capacity as "owner" of land. In a larger household, differences in labor in-put, rivalry between the women about the food controlled by themselves and belonging to their husbands, or between the men about the property rights of the produce derived from their common effort, tend to create conflict and disunity. In the
592 nuclear household, the division of labor is explicit, the role ex-
594 actly and minimally distributed, and conflict, in the case of its
578 occurrence, is likely to be more quickly solved because the fission of the nuclear domestic group is equivalent to the disappearance of the household itself.

178
613 The functions before performed by the lineage are now
592 performed by the household, the community, or by the neighborhood
621
591
184

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

42
43
182
571
184
241
323
434

We can safely arrive at the conclusion that some aspects of the economic system play a very important part in the structuring of social relations in the Chiapas communities. The economic factors which are indicated by the natives themselves and have been assessed by us as being crucial correlates of certain patterns of social behavior are:

(1) The unspecialized agricultural system of one village (Aguacatenango) versus the system of agriculture plus pottery production in the other makes the second one a "richer" town with less wealth fluctuation from year to year.

184
182
462
572
566
434

(2) The relative importance of women as bread-winners and producers in the traditional division of labor in one village (Amatenango), results in the fact that labor of women is crucial for the continuity of the domestic group, whereas in Aguacatenango, it is not. This does not mean that Aguacatenango women do not work. It just means that women's work in Aguacatenango, however exhausting, does not have a market in which it can be sold, and it cannot be transformed into subsistence goods or into money, i.e., it has an undeterminate marginal value. This gives the women in one village (Amatenango) economic independence and a higher status

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

184 vis-à-vis their husbands and male kinsmen, while in Aguacatenango,
182 it makes them economically dependent, and subordinates from a jural
462 point of view. In one case females inherit as men do, in the
591 other, inheritance follows a male line. In one case, they control
562 the same property as men do, in the other, they control only
434 marginal property.
[428]
[421]

(3) The relative importance of a man is labor versus a
184 woman's labor within the domestic unit affects residence. In
182 Aguacatenango, where all important productive activities are in
462 the hands of men, residence is patri-virilocal, and only males are
434 residence sponsors regularly. In Amatenango, where productive ac-
591 tivities are in the hands of both males and females, residence is
alternately matri-uxorilocal or patri-virilocal, and both males
and females can become residence sponsors. In Amatenango, house-
[323] holds that depend more on the women's labor in pottery making are
[241] uxorilocal, while households in which the largest part of the do-
mestic group income is derived from agriculture have post-marital
patri-virilocal residence of their members.

184 In Aguacatenango, where all household income is derived
182 from agriculture and residence is patri-virilocal, matri-uxorilo-
434 cality occurs sporadically due to some other economic and non-
591 economic factors: (a) the inheritance of some land in the female
593 line when a daughter structurally replaces a son; (b) the coopera-
428 tive work between father-in-law-son-in-law when they replace the
562 position of father and son for each other; (c) the payment of
602 curing ceremonies and medicines for a sick married woman by her
606 own kin rather than her husband's.
75

184 591 602 4. In both villages, among consanguineal sponsors, lineal relatives who have immediate economic duties are preferred as sponsors over collaterals.

5. In Aguacatenango, among consanguineal sponsors, agnatically linked relatives are preferred over non-agnatic relatives, while in Amatenango, any consanguineal relative, a matri- or patrilineal one, is an equally likely choice.

184 591 561 6. In both villages, economic dependency is usually assigned within the parental and the children's generation, rather than within the same generation, the result being that residence sponsors are preferred to be from alternate rather than the same generation, and within the same generation, sponsors are selected in terms of seniority over Ego.

184 591 562 434 7. In both villages, spouses reside together. In Aguacatenango, the residence sponsor is the husband, while in Amatenango, either husband or wife can be sponsors. Males are the only sponsors when they are the only household members responsible for the support of the unit. Women and men are sponsors where both share the economic burden of supporting the household. Women are sponsors when they are the only ones responsible for the economic demands of the domestic group, and when their husbands work with their fathers.

184 591 586 602 8. Unmarried children reside with both parents, and work with the parent of the same sex. If the parents are separated when the children are small, they stay with the mother. In Aguacatenango, if the mother is dead, a patrilineal sponsor other than

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

184 591 586 602 the father is preferred, while in Amatenango, both paternal and maternal relatives are equally good choices.

184 736 591 434 9. In Aguacatenango, where widows are incapable of supporting the economic demands of the household by themselves, they choose to reside with a male sponsor in another household, while in Amatenango, they can be self-sponsors and the heads of their own domestic groups.

184 621 582 591 10. In both villages, residence within one's barrio is preferred over residence in any other territorial division. In Amatenango, cross-barrio marriages are accompanied by matri-uxorilocal residence as well as patri-virilocal residence, which results in both men and women residing in a barrio other than their own (11 per cent and 16 per cent respectively). This results in Aguacatenango barrios being related only through the circulation of women between them, while in Amatenango, both men and women are transmitted between families across barrio lines, in both directions.

184 621 602 [592] The structuring of economic and residential sponsorship produces two different types of neighborhoods in the two villages. In Aguacatenango, the neighborhood tends to be a cluster of agnatically linked households, while in Amatenango, it is composed [613] of a set of kindred. The barrio in Aguacatenango, then, is a [562] territorial division containing neighborhoods which are localized agnatic groups, which I call localized patrilines, with few non-relatives and bilateral kinsmen enclaved throughout the blocks; a man does not separate from his territory or barrio, nor from his neighborhood, while a woman circulates within neighborhoods after 184 621 591 marriage and even within barrios. In Amatenango, both men and

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

men whom the lay sisters assisting the priest have organized to help carry out the Mass and other church rituals.

Another pair of officials, the *krinsipaletik* or principales, were not mentioned in the category "officials in the townhall" or in that of "officials in the church," until I questioned, "Who names the officials?" The response was, "Principales with the president." In order to arrive at the higher honorific posts of principal, one must serve five times in the civil and six times in the religious posts in the traditional hierarchy. The principales provide continuity in the transfer of authority, remaining in the townhall when the old officials depart to their homes, and passing over the staffs to the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28, 31). It is a position without power in the day-to-day administration of affairs. Although the incumbents occupy prestigeful positions and carry out ceremonial acts, many men avoid the office because of the loss of status in carrying out one of their most important acts, the collection of contributions for the major fiestas. The two principales must hold the plate into which the money is turned over by the police, and this causes "embarrassment." Formerly they were also bankers, holding the money until it was spent. This responsibility gave prestige to the act of receiving the money, now redefined as a sort of begging operation.

A ceremonial link between the civil and religious wings is the group of officers known as the *alperesetik*, alfereces. They are associated with the four major saints, who are also represented by the *kobrarias* of Sacramento, Santa Lucia, San Pedro Martyr, and San Francisco. Their rank order is determined not by the importance of the saint but by the order of entry into office. These are named: *tat pasaro*, the past "father"; *šil pasaro*, remains past; *stebal pasaro*, second past; and *?ač' alperes*, new alferez. They sit, move, and are served in this order wherever they appear. Although tied to a *č'ultat*, spirit father or saint, they function in the townhall in bearing the banners there from the church for civil affairs (App. 1, Q. 27), and they provide the post which is crucial for learning the set speeches useful in all formal occasions, called the *pat?ot'an*, 'behind the heart.' Because of the crucial nature of this speechmaking, no man can progress into the post of first or second regidor without having passed through that of alferez. This post is the most difficult to fill because of the high outlay (3000 pesos in one year of average expenditures, about half the

[P. 214-B]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

average annual earnings of a man in this town); failure to accept the post when it is offered brings a jail sentence. On the following day, during a drinking session in the townhall with the assembled civil officials, the reluctant nominee usually accepts.

The civil career of an individual would be one in which he passed (*sk'as*, which I gloss as 'pass'; it is the same verb as Spanish *pasar*) first as police, then as third or fourth regidor. If he has passed as alferez, he will enter as first or second regidor at this stage, and then go on to second judge and finally become first judge. If not, he will stop as third or fourth regidor. After reaching the peak of his career as first judge, he may return to the police group as *martomorey*. Present leaders of the town consider this an "ugly" custom and say they hope to change it because it puts men of major age in a position of minor importance. Formerly men had to fulfill six turns in civil office, twice as regidor and twice as judge, to be considered free of further obligation. But now, because of increasing population (according to informants), this has been lowered to five required turns. The post which has been eliminated is that of assistant judge, which is now filled by a representative of one of the two barrios.

Throughout his career in office, a household head is expected to alternate between the civil and religious posts. Religious posts are considered less onerous since they require only six months of service, from the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo at the end of June until January 6, and the men are on duty only Sundays and holidays. A balanced number of six turns in each of the branches of the hierarchy was expected, prior to the reduction of the number of civil posts to five, to bring one to the end of one's career. In a census of 311 household heads made in 1964, passage in office shows a balance between posts undertaken in each wing of the hierarchy. Of 13 men over 70 years of age, five had completed service in civil and religious office. Three who had passed as president had served only once or twice in each wing of the hierarchy. The remaining five had a balanced but incomplete career.

In the religious hierarchy, a man passes first as *nič'anil kuč ha?*, 'minor who brings liquor.' Then he will pass as *?ali?bal*, the assistant to the *kobraria*, particularly charged with the slaughter of the bull for the large fiestas. These "servants" were not distinguished from other mayordomos in the initial listing of officers, but were mentioned in the description of fiesta

[P. 215-A]